443 diers (ambulantes) who walk through the area in the summer selling combs, ribbons, jewelry, and perfumes.

561 One of the most important factors influencing the fortunes of
565 the town of Vila Recôncavo is the diversity of attitudes toward
369 it held by different segments of the local population. The most powerful group, although small in number, is that of the plantation and sugar-mill owners. The orientation of this group is polarized between the capital city, Salvador, and the plantations. There is no one living in the town who is included in the same social stratum as these people, and therefore the town is not a social drawing point for them as it might be in the plantation area of the southern United States. Vila does not represent a shopping center for them, and it is not an outlet for their sugar. Since they are so near the capital, business is transacted there rather than in the small rural town with its poor communications. This group as a whole looks upon the town as a decadent and backward place. There is little or no feeling among these people that they should "do something" to improve the town, to which they feel little or no allegiance. Rather, their allegiance is first to Bahia and to their own social class in the state, and second to the Recôncavo, the original seat of that class.

The plantation and sugar-mill workers also disregard Vila to a large extent, generally not considering it worth the effort involved in getting there. For these people the market in Centro and the sugar mill store are the major attractions of the area. Their social life is centered almost entirely within the plantation or at the sugar mill.

The town dwellers themselves have an ambivalent attitude toward their town, for, while they also feel that Vila is backward and without opportunity for personal advancement, they
369 nevertheless consider themselves an urban group in contrast
365 to the plantation workers. Recent improvements in the town, such as the installation of electricity and the introduction of radios, movies, and other electrical appliances, as well as the pavement of the mud streets with cobblestones, have been a great help in alleviating the former forlorn air of the town, once known as the "abandoned" town. The local population still
• [652] speaks of this earlier state a great deal, almost with the haunt-
[653] ing fear that such conditions might return. The funds for these public works came from sources outside the county, that is, from grants of money by the state government during the epoch of the interventores, the governors appointed during the dic-

tatorial regime of Getulio Vargas. One of the last of these was a son of the county who wished to leave a permanent remembrance of his family in the town. Most of the work was done by local labor, which brought a certain measure of prosperity to the town. Certainly the appearance of the town changed. New façades were added to many houses; others were freshly painted in gay colors; and some people constructed cement sidewalks in front of their homes. At night the streets are brighter because of the electric street lights (which are turned off at midnight) and because of the rays of bright electric light passing through the cracks of the closed window shutters and doors.

Almost every evening at dusk, however, the electric power of the countryside is shut off for at least an hour because of inadequate generating facilities at the main plant, leaving the countryside and small towns in darkness. At this hour the town returns to its past, and one seems to be in an era one, two, or three hundred years ago. Tiny oil lamps (fifós) are lighted, or an occasional kerosene lamp, the soft and short-reaching rays of which barely penetrate the heavy darkness of the house and do not reach the street. A hush falls over the town during the spell of darkness. All the old fears of shadows, malevolence, and lobishomens (werewolves) return. The family congregates in one room, for no one wants to be alone, speaking softly as though not to break the spell. The streets are suddenly emptied, and the silence is broken only by the occasional forlorn braying of a donkey left wandering outside.

Without light there is no life in Vila Recôncavo. The evening religious service is delayed; the movie is delayed; the bar closes. One thinks of the impermanence of the new prosperity, remembering how quickly the moist salt air can blacken the gayest colored building, how the heavy rains can wash away the foundation of a mud house, how fast the weeds can grow in the cracks of the pavement, and how by the flick of a switch in some faraway place the magical lights are removed. A heavy gloom settles over the town and remains until, as suddenly as they went off, the lights return. Life picks up again, radios blare forth at fullest volume, and Vila Recôncavo once again is grateful for light and life, however impermanent.

Although this is a traditional area, few local people know its history. Only a few can provide historical data going back further than one generation, and even fewer know anything of what lies behind the "glorious past" of Vila Recôncavo, a

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

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There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

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The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

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The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from

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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population. The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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guayan war.[66] The law eventually provided that Negro women, after rearing ten children, should be automatically liberated.[67] In 1871 the so-called "law of Rio Branco" freed offspring of slaves born subsequent to its adoption[68] and set up a fund for the purchase and liberation of Negroes by the government. By 1880 a widespread emancipation movement was under way.[69] Thousands were freed by will, by payments from emancipation funds,[70] or by outright gift.[71] For instance, in 1883, in the towns of Baturite, Aca-

[66] On March 30, 1867, the monastery of São Bento in Bahia, which had already freed eleven slaves for service in the war with Paraguay, liberated six more Negroes and "presented them to the Governor for the same purpose."

[67] Koster, however, wrote from Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century: "A slave who has brought into the world, and has reared ten children, ought to be free, for so the law ordains. But this regulation is generally evaded" (*op. cit.*, I, 195).

[68] This law was, however, in some cases ineffective. Sixteen years after its passage the Bahian *Diario Official*, of June 4, 1887, reported the following auction of slave property at the *fazenda Concordia:* "Alberto, 10 years of age, one conto of reis; Vicente, 13 years, one conto of reis; Felix, 14 years, 800 milreis; Flauzinha, 13 years, 600 milreis, Simplicio, 14 years, one conto of reis" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 587 n.)

[69] Among the prominent abolitionists mentioned by Anselmo da Fonseca were: José do Patrocinio, Joaquim Nabuco ("the great and illustrious head of the abolition movement"), Senator Dantas, Ferreira de Menezes, Andre Rebouças, Quintino Bocayuva, Joaquim Serra, Ennes de Souza, Getulio das Neves, Nicolau Moreira, José Mariano, Celso Junior, Senator Jaguaripe, Luiz de Andrade, João Clapp, Beaurepaire Rohan, Aristides Spinola, Ruy Barbosa, Escragnole Taunay, Franco de Sá, Antonio Pinto, Leopoldo Bulhões, and "a writer using the pseudonym of Clarkson" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

[70] These funds were sponsored by emancipation societies, private individuals, and municipal, state, and national treasuries.

[71] The *Provinciano*, a newspaper of Parahyba do Sul, listed in 1884, among others, the following emancipations: "Dona Anna S. José, 16 slaves liberated and a farm given them for their use; Condessa do Rio Novo, 200 slaves

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In 1881 the Bahian provincial assembly created an emancipation fund "to free slaves in this province."[87] On March 25, 1884, slavery was abolished in the province of Ceará, the culmination of fifteen months of municipal emancipation.[88] Similar action was taken by the provinces of Amazonas and Maranhão later in the same year. In 1885 all Negroes over sixty years of age were liberated by edict of the Brazilian emperor.[89] In 1886

[87] Law No. 2146 of May 14, 1881, sponsored by Deputies Marcolino Moura, Alexandre Herculano, Frederico Lisboa, and Virgilio de Carvalho. Articles 2 and 3 read as follows:

ARTICLE 2.—This Emancipation Fund shall be derived:

SECTION 1. From each and every provincial tax relative to slaves, including the inheritance and legacy stamps.

SEC. 2. From the returns of an annual lottery of 100 contos.

SEC. 3. From the donations of individuals and of philanthropic associations.

SEC. 4. From legacies left or set up for the benefit of the fund.

SEC. 5. From the payment of a tax obligatory for this purpose by every dramatic and musical company which shall play in the Theatro Publico.

ART. 3.—The distribution of this Emancipation Fund shall be in the hands of each *municipio* in accordance with Article 26 of Statute 5135 of the thirteenth of November, 1872.

The seventh apportionment from this fund, made by act of Governor Theodoro Machado on May 13, 1886, amounted to 59 contos, 723$244 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 233).

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[88] The *Rio News* of April 5, 1884, reported a week's festival being at that time held in Rio in celebration of emancipation in Ceará. Large sums were realized from donations and bazaars, several slaves were liberated, and a movement set on foot to secure complete emancipation in Rio also. On September 28, 1887, there was held at Belem a "redemption celebration" to which flocked "the press, the abolition societies, the Masons, leaders of the city's commercial life, many women, and the people." One hundred and nine *Cartas de Liberdade* were distributed. On the following day, the *Provincio do Pará*, one of the leading abolition journals of Brazil, published an editorial suggesting a *liga redemptora*, whose program would be that of seeking to secure complete emancipation in the Belem *municipio* by the following December 31 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 548).

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[89] The provisions of this law freed slaves from sixty to sixty-two years of age on the condition that they serve three additional years without remuneration. Slaves sixty-three years of age were to serve two additional years; those sixty-four, one additional year.

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In 1886 the municipal *camara* of Bahia, following the initiative of other Brazilian cities, authorized a *Livro de Ouro* ("Golden Book") in which the names of persons contributing toward the emancipation of slaves in the *municipio* were to be inscribed. On April 19 of the following year a project was presented to the municipal *camara* by its president, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, authorizing the setting-up of a commission to study means of extinguishing slavery throughout the *municipio*.

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On the eve of nation-wide abolition, or in 1887, a number of emancipation projects were presented to the Bahian *camara*. Two were presented in the state senate: one by Senator Taunay and one by Senator Dantas, the former setting Christmas, 1889, as the date of final abolition for the province of Bahia, and the latter naming December 31 of the same year. Slaves in various parts of Brazil, "learning that they are men and will one day be citizens," were by this time deserting the plantations.** Police and the soldiery often refused to aid in their recapture.

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In 1887, "as a significant manifestation of abolition senti-

** In 1887 Fonseca mentions the "recent flight" en masse of slaves from several *fazendas* in the province of São Paulo. For instance, in Piracicaba, a hundred slaves fled from Barão de Serra Negra. In the *municipio* of Campos fifty slaves fled from the *fazenda* of Becco and, joined by other Negroes who were deserting the *fazenda* of Penha, turned upon the police sent out from Itu to apprehend them and caught, stripped, and beat them. That year the following advertisement appeared in the *Gazeta da Bahia:*

Fled from the owner whose signature appears below the following slaves: Maria dos Neves, *cabra* [offspring of Negro and mulatto], short, stocky, round faced, with prominent cheek bones, milk-white teeth, straight hair, parted in the middle; speaks very rapidly. Antonio (who sometimes calls himself Maria da Piedade), dark *cabra*, short, fat, with good teeth, and large scars on breast and one arm (these scars are from burns). Was last seen in Rio Vermelho.

Whoever recovers and brings these slaves to my office at Rua do Julião, No. 1, or to No. 123 Ribeira in Itapagipe, will be well rewarded.

Dr. José Alves Cardoso e Silva

(Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 595, 602–3, 161).